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FROM JEROBOAM TO BENES

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In Europe there are at present sixteen countries which possess governments or similar institutions outside their own frontiers, more than there have ever been except for the period of the French Revolution. Future historians will designate this fact as one of the characteristics of the second World War. However, the problem is so interesting that it is worth while even now to subject it to an analysis, all the more so since it touches upon some of the fundamental questions of the present war.

The documentary appendix contains excerpts from one of Prime Minister Churchill's recent speeches which throw much light on the subject.

JEROBOAM'S UPS AND DOWNS

"AND Jeroboam . . . lifted up his hand against the king . . . Solomon sought therefore to kill Jeroboam. And Jeroboam arose, and fled into Egypt, unto Shishak king of Egypt, until the death of Solomon . . . And Solomon slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David his father: and Rehoboam his son reigned in his stead. . . Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who was yet in Egypt, heard of it . . . And it came to pass, when all Israel heard that Jeroboam was come again, that they sent and called him unto the congregation, and made him king over all Israel." "Now in the eighteenth year of king Jeroboam . . . there was war between Abijah [Rehoboam's son] and Jeroboam. . . And Abijah and his people slew them with a great slaughter: so there fell down slain of Israel five hundred thousand chosen men. . . And Abijah pursued after Jeroboam. . . Neither did Jeroboam recover strength again in the days of Abijah: and the Lord struck him, and he died." (I. Kings, XI, XII; II. Chronicles, XIII.)

This quotation from the Old Testament about Jeroboam, who fled from his country before King Solomon and who later drove out Solomon's son and made

himself king of Israel and who was finally destroyed by Solomon's grandson, is one of the earliest examples which history has to offer regarding political emigration. Yet this age-old phenomenon has never been systematically examined, with the result that there is a certain confusion about the various forms of emigration. Hence, without wishing to enter into a dispute over terminology, we must begin with a definition of the terms used.

One word we can immediately dispense with is "emigrant" (from the Latin *e* out, *migrare* to migrate). For by emigrants we usually mean people who—regardless of what reasons caused them to emigrate, political, economic, or religious—left their native land for good to settle in some other country, and who have no intention of and lay no claim to influencing further developments in their former home.

REFUGEES AND EXILES

It is a different matter with the words "refugee," "exile," and "émigré." Although the borders among their definitions are fluid, each of these words has its own shade of meaning. The defining of these shades will help us to understand the phenomenon of political emigration.

The word "refugee" was applied for the first time on a large scale to the

Huguenots, the French Protestants. When the Edict of Nantes, which had granted them religious freedom, was abolished in 1685, some 200,000 of them left France and settled in other parts of Europe. Although they left for good, they were not emigrants, as a special law existed in France prohibiting their emigration. They had to flee and thus became known as *réfugiés* (from the Latin *re* back, *fugere* to flee). Since then the word "refugee" has usually been applied to people who have tried to find a "refuge" in another country after a more or less enforced departure. Some of them may wish to return to their old homes if the conditions necessitating their departure should change. However, the word "refugee" generally implies that the person to whom the term is applied does not work actively toward changing conditions in his native country. In order not to jeopardize the refuge he has found, he prefers as a rule to desist from activities directed against the regime in his own country, as these might endanger the good will of the country on whose hospitality he depends. This, for instance, holds good for the Armenians who fled from Turkey early in this century.

The term "exile" (from the Latin *exilium*) or its equivalent has been in existence since the days of antiquity. It was originally applied in cases where people were forced to leave their native soil by the authorities of their own country as, for instance, Themistocles from Athens (471 B.C.). Thus it meant as much as "banishment." But while banishment is brought about by formal sentence or decree, the term "exile" admits also compulsion of circumstances as its cause. The term is now also used to imply prolonged voluntary absence from one's native country, usually for political reasons.

ÉMIGRÉS

The French word *émigré* entered international usage as a result of the French Revolution. It was applied to those people—mostly aristocrats and members of the Royal House—who fled France after the storming of the Bastille in 1789

and spent the next twenty-five years trying to regain their lost position by inducing the other European states to go to war against France. They also tried to stir up their own countrymen in France—the peasants of La Vendée, for example—to counterrevolution. In 1795 England equipped three French *émigré* armies, with the aim of killing two birds with one stone: harming revolutionary France and getting rid of the troublesome *émigrés*. After the disaster which met these armies on the French coast of the Channel, England's Prime Minister, Pitt the Younger, defended himself in Parliament by stating that, after all, no English blood had flowed. Richard Sheridan, the famous author and orator, replied to this: "But British honor has flowed out of all pores."

The term "*émigré*" was also applied to the many crowned heads who were swept off their thrones by Napoleon's march across Europe.

Thus the word "*émigré*" denotes persons who, after leaving their country owing to political changes, try to undo those changes with the aid of foreign powers. The *émigrés* do not acknowledge the changes that have taken place at home, claiming to be the real representatives of their country and that the events which have forced them to leave are merely a temporary misfortune which need only be overcome for everything to "return to normal." They wish to turn back the wheel of history, and when given a chance to do so they do not hesitate to grasp it. This was the case with the Bourbons when, with the aid of Russian, British, and Prussian bayonets, they were reinstated in France in 1814 after the fall of Napoleon. Louis XVIII and particularly Charles X certainly deserved the saying that the *émigrés* had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. Their shortsighted attempts at "restoring" prerevolutionary France inevitably led to the July Revolution and forced them into exile a second time. The same happened to such rulers as the King of Naples, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Duke of Modena who, having lost their thrones in

the Napoleonic Wars, were later reinstated with foreign aid. They carried on so blind and reactionary a policy that

they needed foreign bayonets for their support and were eventually swept away by the Italian national revolution.

* * *

LET us now turn to an analysis of the various forms of government existing in Europe outside the borders of their countries. For the time being, we shall not apply any one of the three terms just defined. We shall simply call them governments, not "governments," so as not to overburden this article with quotation marks; we do so without prejudice to the question whether these institutions really deserve the term of government or not, a point which will be discussed toward the end of the article.

THE START: A CIVIL WAR

The wave of present-day European émigrés began, appropriately enough, with a civil war, the Civil War in Spain, which American journalists called the "little world war" and which, indeed, was in various respects a prelude to the present war.

The Spanish Civil War lasted from July 18, 1936, to March 28, 1939. During its last months, many politicians, soldiers, and sailors of the Leftist camp fled—hundreds of thousands in all—mainly to France. Among them were Juan Negrin, the Premier of the Leftist Government—who had been overthrown by a rival faction in his own camp led by General José Miaja—and his War Minister Indalecio Prieto. Many of them eventually turned up in South and Central America, but most of all in Mexico.

After his victory, General Francisco Franco's government was recognized by almost all powers, including Great Britain and America, but not by the USSR. For the next few years, little was heard of the Spanish fugitives, but of late they have appeared in the news again. On December 17, 1942, Juan Negrin arrived in North Africa and started to organize the Spanish Leftists who had been in-

terned there by the French authorities after Franco's victory; and on February 10, 1944, the Spanish Communist *La Pasionaria* published an article in the Algiers daily, *Liberté*, praising Negrin and calling his government "the last legitimate government of Spain," thus indicating that it still considered him more or less the head of a government.

In Mexico, Prieto formed a "Spanish Committee of Liberation" in November 1943; and in South America, General José Miaja was trying to do something similar.

So far the Anglo-Americans have proceeded very cautiously. As long as they have not given up hope of winning General Franco over to their side, they are not likely to commit themselves toward any one of the Spanish groups abroad. Moscow alone has never concealed the fact that its sympathies are with his opponents.

ZOGU—ZOG—ZOGU

When the first fugitive king appeared on the European stage in 1939, nobody could have guessed that within two years he would be followed by many others.

Albania has always been one of the restless corners of Europe. After the Great War she had been a republic, with Ahmed Bey Zogu as her President. In 1928 a constituent assembly transformed the government into a monarchy, proclaiming Zogu as King Zog I of the Albanians. His dictatorial rule created much opposition. When Italy seized Albania on April 7, 1939, King Zog fled to Greece, then to Turkey, and finally to England, while the Albanian National Assembly was induced to offer the crown to King Victor Emmanuel. Thus Albania became joined to Italy by a personal union, and the Albanian military forces were incorporated into the Italian Army.

The treason of the House of Savoy cut these ties and brought independence to Albania again. The laws promulgated by the Italian administration were nullified. The National Assembly elected a Regency Council under Mehdi Frasheri, and with the consent of this council Prime Minister R. Mitrovica appointed a cabinet on November 7, 1943.

Events in Italy led ex-King Zog to think that the road might be open for his return to Tirana. He applied for permission to go to Algiers, the Allied headquarters in the Mediterranean, hoping eventually to proceed from there to Albania. However, his request was turned down on October 20: apparently the Allies preferred him to remain an ex-king.

BENES' HOUSE OF CARDS

Czechoslovakia, a creation of the "peacemakers" of Paris after the Great War, became one of their chief satellites in Eastern Europe. After the resignation of Thomas Masaryk on December 13, 1935, Eduard Benes became President of Czechoslovakia. Although the country was surrounded on three sides by German and Austrian territory, with a none too friendly Hungary on its southern border, it was blind enough to follow Benes in a course of increasing enmity toward Germany and her friends. This course became particularly pronounced after the conclusion of the pact between Czechoslovakia and the USSR on May 16, 1935. In these circumstances, Germany could not but consider Czechoslovakia as a dagger in the hands of a hostile France and Bolshevik Russia and pointed against her own heart. At the very least, she had to regard her as a huge potential air base for French and Soviet bombers.

I met Benes when he came to Moscow in 1935 in connection with the conclusion of the pact. Journalists have dubbed him "the greatest of the little statesmen"; but, clever as he is, he somehow made an impression of mediocrity, seeming to lack any comprehensive or realistic conception of the future of Europe. In his ambition to have a hand in the political game of the great powers, he sought to

overcome the limited means of his small country by intrigues of all kinds.

The house of cards built by Benes collapsed three years later when, in his hour of need, he was supported by neither of his two allies, France and the USSR. A week after the Munich agreement of September 29, 1938, Benes acknowledged the failure of his policy by resigning from his post of President. He left the country, going first to America and later to England. In accordance with the constitution, Emil Hacha (till then a member of the Czechoslovakian Supreme Court) became his successor. In March 1939, Hacha agreed to the secession of Slovakia from Czechoslovakia and placed the remaining parts of the country, Bohemia and Moravia, under the protection of the German Reich.

Few people could have been more pleased with the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939 than Benes. He immediately organized a so-called "Czechoslovakian National Committee" in London and declared himself "President" of Czechoslovakia. Almost two years passed before his committee was recognized as a government by the USSR (July 18, 1941), Great Britain (July 21, 1941), and the United States (July 31, 1941). Its Foreign Minister is Jan Masaryk, the son of the former President.

Up to the winter of 1942/43, Benes placed his hopes in the Anglo-Americans, at first because the Soviet Union had seemed to be on the side of Germany, and after June 22, 1941, because the USSR seemed to be losing the war. He co-operated closely with London and Washington, and after Pearl Harbor he hastened to declare war on all the countries at war with England and America (December 17, 1941). During this time, one of Benes' many activities had been his negotiations with the Polish Government in London, which aimed at an agreement on postwar policies and the establishment of a Czechoslovakian-Polish federation. Several declarations to this effect were published by both governments (November 11, 1940; January 23, 1942; June 9, 1942). However,

these negotiations came to an abrupt halt on May 18, 1943, as a result of the crisis in the relations between Moscow and the Poles over the latter's attitude in the Katyn affair. Benes immediately took sides with the Kremlin and echoed its accusations against General Sikorski.

Having observed the effects of the Polish-Soviet conflict, Benes from then on turned more and more openly toward Moscow. On May 28, 1943, an agreement was concluded between the Czechoslovakian Government and Moscow regarding the organization of a Czech brigade in the USSR, signed for the Soviets by the then Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs Korneichuk, the most outspoken critic of the Polish Government. In a meeting that took place on September 24, 1943, the Czechoslovakian cabinet decided to work toward the conclusion of a mutual assistance pact with the USSR. This was a challenge to Great Britain, who did not wish Czechoslovakia to form any ties with Soviet Russia and thus to come under the influence of the latter. It was for this reason that in the summer of 1942 Foreign Secretary Sir Anthony Eden had made an agreement with Foreign Commissar Molotov according to which neither of the two governments

would conclude any treaties affecting the postwar period with any of the fugitive governments. But Moscow ignored this agreement: on December 9, 1943, Benes arrived in Moscow,

and on December 12 he signed a Soviet-Czech treaty (published in the Appendix of our March 1944 issue), to be valid for a period of twenty years.

This was a clear triumph for Stalin and meant that, in the case of an Allied victory, Czechoslovakia would be included in the Soviet sphere of influence. The Anglo-American reaction was expressed by the *New York Times* in the following comment: "The new treaty looks like a return to the old system of spheres of influence, a system that has

not proved itself at all." The treaty was also a blow to the Poles, as Article 5 contains a promise on the part of Benes not to conclude any agreement with other governments except with Moscow's approval. Premier Hacha and his cabinet in Prague immediately voiced a protest against this sellout of their country to the Soviets and declared emphatically that Benes possessed no authority whatever to represent the Czech people and conclude foreign treaties on their behalf.

"ENFANT TERRIBLE" OF THE ALLIED CAMP

The first Allied country in this war to have had a government abroad, and the one which has so far caused the most trouble to the Allied camp, is Poland. Owing to her unfortunate position between two powerful neighbors and to the absence of clear geographical and ethnographical frontiers, Poland has throughout modern European history been a source of disturbance; and "*la question polonaise*" has frequently occupied the cabinets of Europe during the past. The present war started over the question of Poland's western border, and the noisiest quarrel in the Allied camp at present is over Poland's eastern frontier. (We also refer our readers to previous articles on Poland appearing in this magazine: "The Tragic Road of Poland," June 1943; "A New Set," August/September 1943; "Blueprints for the World," March 1944.)

On September 1, 1939, war broke out between Germany and Poland. Within two weeks, the resistance of the bulk of the Polish armies collapsed. September 16 saw the Red Army's invasion of Poland and the flight of the Polish Government—President Moscicki and others—to Rumania. Here they were interned at first but later set free. Moscicki resigned his post on September 30; he is now living in Switzerland. On the same day, Wladyslaw Raczewicz, former President of the Senate, took his oath as the new President in the Polish Embassy in Paris and appointed General Wladyslaw Sikorski as his Premier.



Meanwhile, on September 29 Germany and the USSR had come to an agreement regarding the partition of Poland (see map on page 169, March 1943). Those of the areas west of the demarcation line which were German for ethnographical or historical reasons were incorporated into the Reich, and one border region was incorporated into Slovakia; the rest was organized into the General-Gouvernement. In the areas east of the line, the USSR held mock-elections (with Stalin heading the list!) and incorporated those areas into the already existing Soviet Republics of White Russia and the Ukraine.

Little was heard of the Polish Government during the next twenty months. When Paris had to be evacuated, it moved to Bordeaux and, when France collapsed, to London.

An entirely new situation arose, however, when the two powers which had partitioned Poland came to grips on June 22, 1941. As the USSR became an ally of England, who in turn was Poland's ally, the Polish Government decided to come to terms with Moscow. This did not prove difficult at a time when the Red Army was being hurled back hundreds of miles by the German forces. On July 30, 1941, the Poles and the USSR concluded a treaty (see our issue of October 1941, pp.76/77) in which the Soviet Union declared the territorial changes that had taken place in Poland of 1939 as void; in which provision was made for the formation of a Polish legion in Russia under a Polish commander; and in which the USSR promised to grant amnesty to all Polish prisoners of war. On the same day, British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden handed General Sikorski the following note:

On the occasion of the signature of the Polish-Soviet Agreement of today's date, I desire to take the opportunity to inform you that in conformity with the provisions of the agreement of mutual assistance between the United Kingdom and Poland of August 25, 1939, the Government of the United Kingdom have entered into no undertakings with the Soviet Union which affect relations of that country and Poland. I also desire to assure you that the British Government do not recognize territorial changes effected in Poland since 1939.



In this connection, Anthony Eden called the attention of the House of Commons on the following day to Prime Minister Churchill's statement of September 5, 1940, according to which the British Government did not propose to recognize any territorial changes which took place in the war unless they took place with the free consent and good will of the parties concerned. His words were loudly cheered by the House.

The only question, it seemed, which still remained to be settled was that of the Polish soldiers and civilians who had fallen into Soviet hands following upon the Red Army's invasion of Poland. When the Reds occupied eastern Poland in September 1939, they took over some 15 million civilians and, according to the Red Army daily *Krasnaya Zvezda* of September 17, 1940, captured an army of 181,000 men including about 10,000 officers. The officers were put into three concentration camps and the soldiers demobilized, while the civilians were declared Soviet citizens by the decrees of November 29, 1939, and January 16, 1943.

As we have seen, it was decided on July 30, 1941, to form a Polish legion in the USSR. The Soviets' attempts to carry Bolshevik and antireligious propaganda into the ranks of the Polish soldiers caused much friction. Although the formation of the legion was finally completed on July 1, 1942, its Polish commander in chief refused to send his troops into action (because of lack of proper equipment, say the Poles). According to Vyshinsky, at that time Soviet Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs, the Soviet Government first "curtailed their food rations" (i.e., tried to starve them into submission) and then evacuated part of them to Iran. The evacuated formations were reorganized and put into the Polish Army which had been formed in the Near East under General W. Anders.

There was one thing that kept worrying the Poles: the fate of 8,300 officers and

several thousand noncommissioned officers who had been captured by the Reds in 1939 and about whom nothing had been heard. Even General Sikorski was unable during his visit to Moscow in December 1941 to obtain any news as to their whereabouts. Although Stalin told him that all captured Polish officers had been released, no trace of them could be found.

Then there was the fate of the Polish civilians. The majority of the inhabitants of eastern Poland were still there when the German armies drove out the Reds in 1941. But a large number—estimates vary between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions—had been deported to the interior of Russia or to Siberia. They suffered terrible privation, and many of them died. Later, some of them apparently managed to leave the USSR. According to the Swiss *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 1.4 millions have vanished without trace in the USSR. Any questions regarding their fate have been discouraged by the Soviet authorities, who consider these people Soviet citizens and such inquiries an interference in Soviet domestic affairs.

In February 1943 another problem, which the Poles had believed to be settled, made its reappearance: the frontier question. When, in the course of the winter 1942/43, the German armies began their large-scale withdrawal movement, nobody could foresee how far they would decide to go back. Just to be on the safe side, the Polish Government issued a statement on February 25, 1943, which emphasized that "the integrity of the territory of the Polish Republic in her frontier of September 1, 1939, and her sovereignty are inviolable and indivisible."

In the ensuing days, this declaration was scathingly rebuked by Moscow, not only in word—by the Soviet news agency Tass and the Soviet Embassy in London—but also in deed. A newspaper, *Wolna Polska*, was founded under the editorship of the Polish Communist Wanda Wasilewska, which has attacked the fugitive government ever since; Wanda Wasilewska's husband, Alexander Korneichuk, a

notorious Soviet imperialist, was elevated to the position of Soviet Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs (and later of Foreign Commissar of the Ukraine); and two prominent Polish Jewish politicians, H. Ehrlich and V. Adler, were executed.

The Poles were profoundly shaken by this blasting of their dreams. General Sikorski spoke for them all when, in a message of March 30, he threatened:

If at the conclusion of the war our rights are not respected and our long and passionate devotion to freedom not taken into consideration, every Pole—irrespective of religious or political creed—will be united to the last man to resist any claims which endanger the sovereignty and integrity of our country from whatever quarter they might be raised.

This was the situation between the Poles and the Soviets when, on April 12, there came the bombshell of the German announcement on the finding of a mass grave containing the bodies of some 10,000 Polish officers murdered by the Soviets. The German statement, which may have seemed fantastic to some of the pro-Soviet enthusiasts in England and America, appeared so little fantastic to General Sikorski that he addressed a request to the International Red Cross in Geneva to investigate the mass graves of Katyn. On April 16 his government explained this step by enumerating all its vain attempts to discover something about the fate of the Polish officers from the Soviet Government.

Unable to refute the German accusations, the Soviet Government completely lost its temper and, in a note of April 26, broke off relations with the Sikorski Government, accusing it of a conspiracy with Germany. After that, the Soviets made things as unpleasant as possible for the Poles. Several members of the Polish Embassy in the USSR, including General Wolikowski, the chief of the Polish military mission in the USSR, were accused of espionage and deported; and ten members of the Embassy staff were arrested on their way to the Iranian border. Australia took charge of Polish interests in the USSR, as neither England nor America wished to burden their relations with Moscow with this embarrassing task.

The man to have incurred most of Moscow's wrath was General Sikorski. On July 4, while returning from a visit to the Polish Army in the Near East, he was killed in suspicious circumstances in a plane crash at Gibraltar.

The new government formed after his death has been discussed in this magazine (August/September 1943, pp.183/84). Although the new Premier, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, lacks the personality and popularity of Sikorski, his cabinet has continued along the lines of the late General. On September 12, Count Romer, the new Foreign Minister and expelled former Ambassador to Moscow, reiterated his government's insistence on the inviolability of Poland's territory.

Polish-Soviet relations have been further aggravated by the fact that Moscow has been putting Polish divisions into the field which do not recognize the émigré government but are fighting under slogans furnished by Wanda Wasilewska and her "Union of Polish Patriots" in Moscow. This union, which was established in June 1943, must be considered the nucleus of a planned Soviet Poland. In February 1944, a "Polish National Committee" was formed in Moscow which comes quite close to the Soviet version of a Polish



government and which in turn appointed a mysterious "General Rola" to be commander in chief of the Polish troops.

To Britain and America this quarrel is most unwelcome. In order not to jeopardize their relations with the USSR, they are forced to abandon the Poles and thus to expose to the world their own weakness and the inherent worthlessness of the Atlantic Charter. To the British, the continued war effort of the USSR is, of course, more important than the

guarantee of Poland's integrity made in their treaty of August 25, 1939. The Polish frontiers have served their purpose as a pretext for war against Germany; beyond that, they are of little interest to London or Washington. No wonder that the Poles' efforts of January 14, 1944, to have England and America mediate between them and Moscow's claim for the Curzon Line—i.e., the whole of eastern Poland—have met with a cool reception in London and Washington and a brusque refusal in Moscow. Premier Mikolajczyk's journey to Washington, about which there has been talk ever since the beginning of December, has been "postponed" time and again. The *New York Post* of February 23, 1944, has even demanded that the Allies break off relations with the émigré government, and several Polish periodicals in England have been closed by the British authorities. Moreover, on January 15, 1944, the London magazine *Cavalcade* labeled the Polish desire for firm frontiers as a symptom of "historical syphilis."

KUUSINEN GOES THROUGH HIS PACES

Ever since the subjection of Finland to Bolshevist rule in 1917/18, the Finns have had a very strong antipathy toward the Red doctrine. This is why O. Kuusinen, the leader of the small group of Finnish Communists, prefers to live in Moscow. He is one of those men whom Stalin parades from time to time in front of the Soviet people to convince them that the "workers of the world" are on their side.

When the Red Army invaded Finland on November 30, 1939, the Soviet Union erroneously believed that Finnish resistance would quickly collapse, and that the Finnish proletariat would greet the Reds with open arms. For this occasion, Comrade Kuusinen was dragged out of his obscurity. Under instructions from Moscow he formed the so-called "People's Government of Finland" on December 1, 1939, in Terioki on the Finno-Soviet border and in the shadow of Red Army bayonets. The very next day, this government signed a twenty-five-year pact with the USSR which, in the event of a

Red victory, would have made Finland virtually a Soviet republic.

The stage was now set for the triumphal entry of Comrade Kuusinen and his government into "liberated" Helsinki. But things turned out differently: the gallantry with which the Finns fought is still in everyone's mind. The longer their resistance lasted and the greater the Soviet losses became, the further did Kuusinen sink back into oblivion. When, on March 13, 1940, Stalin concluded peace with his Finnish enemies, no one even mentioned Kuusinen and his pact.

Recently, however, when the Soviets joined in the Allied war of nerves against Finland, the name of Kuusinen reappeared. On February 19, 1944, the pro-Soviet Shanghai newspaper *Novosti Dnya* published the full text of the Kuusinen-Molotov pact of 1939. Having conveniently forgotten about it for over four years, Moscow now apparently hopes that it may turn out to be useful after all.

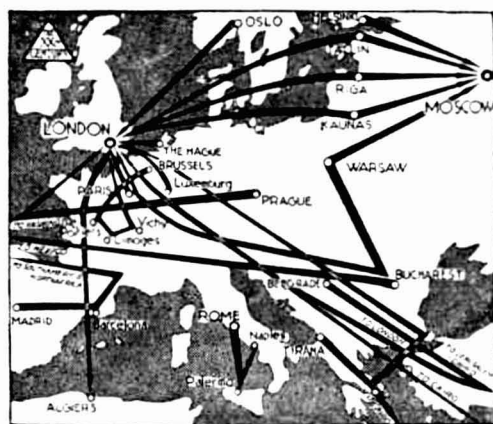
TWO SETS OF BALTIC REPRESENTATIVES

Making use of Europe's preoccupation with the war in 1939/40, Stalin grabbed the three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. He began by forcing so-called mutual assistance pacts on the three states in September and October 1939. On June 15 and 16 of the following year, the Red Army invaded them under the flimsy pretext that, by concluding a military alliance among themselves, they had violated these pacts. The Soviets then demanded the establishment of new governments in conformity with the ideas of Moscow. By means of trickery and terrorization, new "parliaments" were set up in the three countries, all of them completely under Communist domination. On July 21, 1940, these parliaments proclaimed the three states to be Soviet republics and asked to be incorporated in the USSR, a request which Moscow "granted" on August 6. The Soviet regime was subsequently introduced after the pattern of the other Soviet Republics; and countless Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians were either "liquidated" or carried off.

When in its great drive of the summer of 1941 the German Army flung the Red Army out of the Baltic states, the heads of their Soviet administrations fled to Moscow, where they maintained their claim of being these countries' legal governments.

There is a second group of men abroad claiming to speak for the Baltic states: the diplomatic representatives of the three Republics who happened to be in London and Washington when the Soviets invaded their countries. The position which they now occupy there is a typical Anglo-American compromise. On the one hand, they still enjoy the privileges of diplomats (long live the Atlantic Charter!); on the other, they have been struck off the list of accredited diplomats (at the request of the Soviet Government!). The situation will become rather awkward when the Soviets, in pursuance of their policy to establish Foreign Commissariats in the various Soviet Republics, open Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian "departments" in the Soviet Embassy in London in the near future.

The Baltic quasi diplomats are emphatically against the establishment of Soviet rule in their native countries. They still seem to believe that there is a third way open which is neither German nor Bolshevik, and have placed their faith in the Anglo-Saxons. Leading



The movements of fugitive governments or semigovernmental institutions in Europe since 1939

among them is Alfred Bilmanis, who was Lithuania's Minister in Washington. A year ago he circulated a pamphlet among American officials appealing for the re-establishment of the Baltic states and Finland after the war. Since then nothing has been heard of him.

The attitude of the people at home was revealed when the approach of the Red armies during the last few months caused large numbers of volunteers to join the German Army.

EVEN A FEW DANES

On April 9, 1940, as a prelude to the battle of Norway, the German armed forces occupied Denmark. King Christian X and his government remained at their posts and collaborated with the German authorities; but certain representatives of Denmark abroad started to carry on a policy of their own in contradiction to that of their King. Foremost among them was Henrik de Kauffmann, Danish Minister to Washington. He was relieved of his post by the Danish Government on April 11, 1941. Nevertheless, he concluded an agreement with the US Government which gave the United States the right to build an unlimited number of bases on Greenland, a Danish possession. The Danish Government protested, and even *Time*, in its issue of April 21, 1941, spoke of Kauffmann's "questionable legal right to sign the agreement." But Washington acted as if the agreement were valid, and the American occupation of Greenland began on July 6, 1941. Kauffmann also proclaimed Denmark's adherence to the Atlantic Charter in disregard of the protest of the Danish Government. T. Jacobsen, Danish Minister of Justice, stated on July 3, 1942, in the Danish Parliament that Kauffmann's agreements were invalid as they had been concluded without the knowledge or consent of the King of Denmark and his government.

The case of E. Reventlow, Danish Minister to London, was a similar one. When he refused to return to Denmark

and took over the honorary chairmanship of the "Society of Free Danes in Britain," he was dismissed from the Danish diplomatic service on March 24, 1942.

A KING FLEES

After the conclusion of the German campaign in Poland, the war in Europe settled down for some time to what the British called a "bore war." But in April 1940 the first of the historic events of that year occurred. The Norwegian Government, its sympathies on the side of the Allies, had not been strong enough to enforce its neutrality and had not prevented the British Navy from laying mines in Norwegian territorial waters. On April 9, 1940, the storm broke. There followed the breath-taking weeks of the Norwegian campaign, which ended on June 9 with the expulsion of the last Allied soldier from Norwegian territory.

The German authorities set about re-organizing the country, and on February 1, 1942, they entrusted Major Vidkun Quisling with the government. As regards the future of Norway, the Führer's declaration of September 27, 1943, stated:

It is our unalterable will, after the victorious conclusion of this fateful struggle, to build up a national and socialist Norway, in liberty and independence. This Norway will then yield only those functions to the wider sphere of the European community which are indispensable to the safeguarding of Europe's security for all time, since it is this community alone which can and will be the sole representative and guarantor of this security.

Concerning the question of the Norwegian Royal House, Prime Minister Quisling had declared one year earlier (September 25, 1942) that, according to the Norwegian constitution, the King of Norway had forfeited his throne by the mere fact of his leaving the country. Quisling emphasized that the same applied to the former Crown Prince, and that hence the former Royal House had no legal claim to the throne of Norway.

Even before the fighting had come to an end, King Haakon VII, a brother-in-law of the late King George V of



England, had fled with Crown Prince Olaf and the members of his government to England. There he organized a government which was first headed by Prime Minister Nygaardsvold, who had held this office at the outbreak of the war.

FLIGHT IN TWO STAGES

The flight of the Netherlands Government took place in two stages. The first was the flight of Queen Wilhelmina and her government from Holland on May 13, 1941, three days after the outbreak of the war between Germany and the Netherlands. The Queen and her cabinet, with D. J. de Geer as Prime Minister and E. van Kleffens as Foreign Minister, took up residence in London. Prince Bernhard, Crown Princess Juliana's husband, also made his headquarters in London, while Juliana herself moved on to Ottawa in Canada, where she is living with her three daughters, the youngest of whom was born in 1943.

The second stage came when the defenses of the Netherlands East Indies collapsed before the powerful thrust of the Nipponese armed forces in March 1942. Those of the Netherlands East Indies administrators who managed to get away in time established what one might call a Pacific branch of the Dutch Government in Australia under H. J. van Mook, who later became Minister for the Colonies in the Dutch Government in London and is at present back in Australia.

The Netherlands in England are fanatically anti-German, and their mouth-piece, the newspaper *Vry Nederland* in London, has been outdoing itself in attacks on Germany (e.g., on September 21, 1942, by demanding the internationalization of German children by educating them for twelve years outside Germany), and in submission toward the Allies (e.g., on October 4, 1942, by demanding that English be made the second official language of the Netherlands).

In Holland, Chancellor Hitler entrusted Arthur Seyss-Inquart with the duties of Reich Commissar. On December 13, 1942, after the situation in Holland had become stabilized, the Führer recognized

Adrian Mussert, the head of the Netherlands National-Socialist Party, as leader of the Dutch people. Seyss-Inquart thereupon announced that representatives of Mussert's party would be included in every department of the administration in order to harmonize the interests of the Dutch people as much as possible with those of the army of occupation. With regard to Holland's future, Mussert said on December 14, 1941:

Holland will not become part of the German Reich, either as a province or as a protectorate. Holland's independence is assured. In close contact with other Germanic peoples, all possibilities are open to Holland after the war to participate actively in creating a new European order.

ONE GRAND DUCHESS

When the great clash occurred between the German and Allied armies in 1940, Grand Duchess Charlotte of Luxemburg fled to London. Here she established a government of which very little is known. Her two sons and four daughters are in Canada. The German Government appointed Gustav Simon, former provincial governor of Coblenz-Trier, as provincial governor of Luxemburg.

ONE KING STAYED

In the early morning hours of May 10, 1940, Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop informed the press in Berlin that, according to information in the hands of the German Government, Great Britain had notified the Belgian and Netherlands Governments of the impending landing of British troops on Belgian and Dutch soil. Furthermore, he stated, the German Government had irrefutable proof concerning the lining up of British and French armies and an imminent attack on the Ruhr district across Belgian and Dutch territory. At the same moment, the German divisions began their spectacular campaign which carried them to the Channel, separating the British Expeditionary Forces from the bulk of the French armies. Here again, only on a much bigger scale this time, we observe a repetition of what happened in Norway: the British left the Belgians and the

Dutch in the lurch at the first opportunity and fled via Dunkirk.

King Leopold III saw himself deserted by and cut off from his allies. Determined to reduce to the utmost the useless sacrifice of the life and property of his Belgian subjects, he wished to surrender. On the other hand, his cabinet, headed by Prime Minister Hubert Pierlot, chose to flee, abandoning the country to complete chaos. On May 28 the King ordered the Army to surrender and gave himself up to the Germans.

Premier Pierlot established his government first in Poitiers, then in Vichy. On May 31, 89 deputies (out of 202) and 54 senators (out of 167) of the Belgian Parliament, who had also fled the country, declared in a meeting at Limoges in France that it was "juridically and morally impossible for King Leopold to continue his reign." However, their number being less than the two-thirds majority required for constitutional changes, this declaration had no legal consequences, and Leopold III is still King of the Belgians.

After the collapse of France, Pierlot and his colleagues fled to London. The cabinet frequently suffered from dissension among its members, which reached a climax when, in the spring of 1942, some of these members addressed a letter to King Leopold in Brussels, asking for clemency.

In the middle of last December, Minister of Information Delfosse declared in Belfast that the Belgians were prepared to take up close ties with the British Commonwealth as well as to sacrifice part of their country's sovereignty on the sole condition that they might continue to decide over their domestic affairs and be able to exist from an economic point of view. At about the same time, Robert Gillon, the fugitive President of the Belgian Senate, published a lengthy article according to which Belgium had abandoned her policy of neutrality for ever and was prepared to bear the consequences of the fact that she had joined the Allied camp. Foreign Minister Spaak made

similar utterances. This attitude has been most emphatically rejected within the country itself.

DISSIDENTS

Those of our readers who have been following *The XXth Century's* articles on France (July 1942; November 1942; March 1943; January 1944) will be familiar with the course of events in France since the beginning of the war. It will be recalled that, in the midst of the military debacle, Marshal Pétain was called to the helm of the ship of state and that on June 15, 1940, he formed a government in conformity with the French constitution. He has been the leader of France ever since.

On the other hand, there are the dissidents. In order to court the favor of Britain and America they have yielded large parts of the former French Empire; and in order to ingratiate themselves with Stalin they have opened wide the doors of North Africa to Bolshevik infiltration. Stalin has rewarded them by recognizing them as a government, but the Anglo-Americans are still holding back. The dissidents have issued decrees regarding their intentions toward Marshal Pétain and his followers and are spending a good deal of their time squabbling with each other. Darlan has been murdered; Peyrouton arrested; Giraud dropped; and De Gaulle is at present at the top.

NIGHT CLUBS AND POLITICS

From a recent issue of *Voinea i Rabochy Klass* we learn that even Rumania has something like a government abroad in the person of ex-King Carol. Carol, who has made a name for himself as a royal playboy, had once before been in voluntary exile from Rumania (1925-1930). After having occupied his throne for ten years, he resigned again on September 6, 1940, in favor of his nineteen-year-old son Michael. On the day before his resignation he appointed General Ion Antonescu to the post of Prime Minister, investing him with supreme authority and dissolving the Rumanian Parliament. Since then, Antonescu has held the reins of Rumania in his firm hands.

Carol himself left the country with his mistress, Madame Lupescu, to take up residence in Mexico, where a new palace was built for him. According to recent reports it would seem that he has now moved to Costa Rica. In January 1942 he was discouraged in his claims to represent a "Free Rumania" movement when his request to visit the USA in that capacity was declined by Sumner Welles, then Undersecretary of State.

Very little has been heard about Carol since then, but the above-mentioned Russian periodical now accuses him and Tilea, the former Rumanian Ambassador to London, of posing as the legitimate representatives of Rumania. "This variegated figure," the periodical writes about Carol, "feeling that changes are imminent, has given up organizing night-club trusts in Mexico and decided to appear in the role of a victim of Fascism."

TRIANGULAR WAR

The kingdom of Yugoslavia, a conglomeration of various nationalities, was created in Paris after Austria-Hungary's collapse in 1918. As a result of its unfortunate domestic policy, which favored the Serbs and constantly offended the other nationalities, especially the Croats, the country had a very troubled history. The more unstable the domestic situation became in Yugoslavia, the more desperately her government clung to the Western powers to which the state owed its existence. But in the late thirties Germany's growing strength and France's obvious weakness raised doubts among the Yugoslavian leaders as to the wisdom of their policy. Under the impact of Germany's victorious campaigns in 1939 and 1940, Yugoslavia's foreign policy took a new course under Premier Stoyadinovich, a course which culminated in the Tsvetkovich cabinet's joining the Tripartite Pact on March 25, 1941.

By this defeat of their Balkan policy, the Anglo-Saxon powers were induced to take a desperate step: by means of promises and agents they brought about a *coup d'état* on March 27. Prince Paul, who had held the regency for Crown Prince Peter since the assassination of King Alexander in Marseille (1934), and Premier Tsvetkovich were arrested. The Crown Prince was proclaimed King Peter II, and General Dusan Simovich was given the post of Premier. Nothing more has been heard since then of Tsvetkovich. Prince Paul was exiled to Kenya and later to South Africa; Stoyadinovich was banished to Mauritius.

A few days later, on April 6, 1941, began the Balkan campaign which secured the whole Balkan Peninsula for the Axis

within a few weeks. The artificial structure of Yugoslavia was dissolved and replaced by a number of independent national states. On August 29, 1941, General Milan Nedich formed a Serbian cabinet with the approval of the German authorities. He is still Prime Minister of Serbia. Adjoining to the north, the state of Croatia was formed on April 10 under the leadership of Ante

Pavelic, and Slovenia became part of the kingdom of Italy, in which it was incorporated as the province of Lubiana (Laibach).

The *Putsch* government and King Peter fled the country on April 18 and arrived in Jerusalem on April 22. Soon afterwards they made their headquarters in London. Simovich resigned and was sent to a mental asylum near London, from which he was later released. After that there were frequent cabinet crises and changes. The present Purich cabinet, a colorless government composed of officials, was formed on August 10, 1943; but at present it is in the midst of a new crisis.



The repeated cabinet crises prove better than anything else the weakness and discord reigning among the fugitive Yugoslavians. They have learned nothing from the mistakes they made in the past. While on the Balkan Peninsula itself the rivalry among the various nations formerly belonging to Yugoslavia is dwindling in importance—as they are forming their own existences independently of each other—King Peter's government is composed of six Serbs, six Croats, four Slovenes, one Montenegrin, and one Mohammedan; and these are carrying on among themselves the same quarrels to which Yugoslavia owed her weakness in all the years of her existence.

The position of the Yugoslavian Government differs from that of most other fugitive governments in that fighting is going on in the territory which it claims to represent. The mountainous character of the rugged country is very suitable for guerrilla warfare, and the guerrillas have crystallized around two personalities: around General Draga Mihailovich, King Peter's War Minister, whose guerrillas call themselves *chetniks*, and around the Communist leader "Tito."

The London *Observer* recently published some details about Tito. According to these, Tito, who is 53 years old, was born in Croatia as the son of a Czech mother and Jewish father. His real name is Josip Broz, and he formed his present one of Tito from the initials of the Croatian words for "Secret International Terrorist Organization." In the Great War, he deserted from the Austro-Hungarian Army and went over to the Russians. After the Bolshevik Revolution he joined the Red Army and later returned to the Balkans, where he served several terms in prison for burglaries and political offenses. In 1934 he was made a member of the Central Committee of the illegal Communist Party in Yugoslavia. He also went to Moscow to participate in courses in civil warfare and was sent by the Comintern to carry on political work in France and take part in the Spanish Civil War. In 1938 he returned to Yugoslavia, and after the

outbreak of the German-Soviet war he became the leader of the Communist guerrillas.



From the very beginning, Tito enjoyed the support of Moscow. He refused to subordinate himself to the government of King Peter, and on November 26, 1942, he formed an "Anti-Fascist Council," to the presidency of which he appointed Ivan Ribar, while Stalin, Molotov, Kalinin, Roosevelt, and Churchill were elected "Honorary Presidents."

Throughout 1943 there was a growing opposition between Mihailovich and Tito, and thus between Peter II and Stalin. This opposition was aggravated by the fact that Yugoslavia had for more than twenty years refused to recognize the Soviet Government. Up to 1940 there was still the old Tsarist *chargé d'affaires* in Belgrade; a large number of White Russians had found refuge in Yugoslavia, and the supreme head of the "Russian Orthodox Church Abroad" lived in Karlovac (Karlstad). Not until a few days after the Compiègne armistice, under the impact of the French debacle, did the Yugoslavian Government take up diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. Moscow has not yet forgiven this unfriendly attitude.

As the conflict between Tito and Mihailovich grew in intensity, the British as well as the American Governments were drawn more and more into it. In the autumn of 1943 the first indications appeared that the Anglo-Americans would, in view of their weak position toward Stalin, be prepared to drop King Peter. The first thing that happened was that his government was urged to move its headquarters from London. The object was, of course, to emphasize the fact that the British Government did not identify itself with King Peter and his cause. On September 29, 1943, King Peter and his cabinet took up quarters in Cairo. This immediately entailed a considerable weakening of their position. If their demands and protests had already carried

little weight in London, they now had no success at all.

The final sellout of King Peter, like that of the Poles, seems to have been prepared at the Moscow Conference and decided upon in Teheran. In any case, on December 4, 1943, three days after the conclusion of the Teheran Conference, Tito turned the Anti-Fascist Council into a regular government. On this day the so-called National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia was formed, a sort of cabinet under the leadership of Tito; furthermore, a provisional parliament under Ribar. The first official act of the latter was to promote Tito to the rank of Marshal, and on December 12 it published a constitution, in which there is no mention of either King or Crown.

A definite breach had occurred. King Peter's government sharply denounced the creation of an opposition government and called Tito and his adherents "terrorists, devoid of any national feeling." But there was no favorable reaction on the part of the Allies. On December 10 Cordell Hull extended American Lend-Lease aid to Tito, which was more or less tantamount to recognition; and on the following day the London *Times* welcomed the establishment of Tito's government, writing that the Yugoslavian Government in Cairo consisted of hardly more than a few dozen officers, officials, and diplomats, that the spontaneous desire for freedom of a nation was expressed in the provisional government of Tito, and that this trend would undoubtedly also take place in other countries.

There could hardly be a more explicit repudiation of Peter's government and—as expressed in the last sentence—of all fugitive governments as a whole. By sending Fitzroy MacLean, a Brigadier General and Member of Parliament, and Randolph Churchill, the son of the Prime Minister, as liaison officers to Tito, London has also shown what importance it attaches to him.

It is hardly to be wondered at that, in these circumstances, Tito became so cocky that on December 22 his radio broadcast a proclamation of his own National Committee which deprived the King's government of its citizenship and for the time being prohibited King Peter from returning to his country. The proclamation continued:

The peoples of Yugoslavia insist on putting an end to all adherence to the fugitive, treacherous Yugoslav government abroad. From now on, the only Yugoslav government is that of General Tito . . . The King and the monarchy have become the last refuge of reactionary, antinational elements. Under the flag of the monarchy, the most horrible crimes and treason are being committed. Mihailovich and his *chetniks* have united with the invasion troops in fighting our people; King Peter is the supreme commander of the treacherous *chetnik* bands, which form an integral part of the occupation troops, against whom the national army of liberation is fighting a life-and-death struggle.

As a result, a triangular war has been going on in the territory of what was formerly Yugoslavia. Mihailovich has been fighting against Tito and the Germans (or their allies); Tito against Mihailovich

and the Germans; and the Germans against Tito and Mihailovich. Of late, it appears as if soon only one front will be left; yet as long as the triangle exists, the Allies will continue

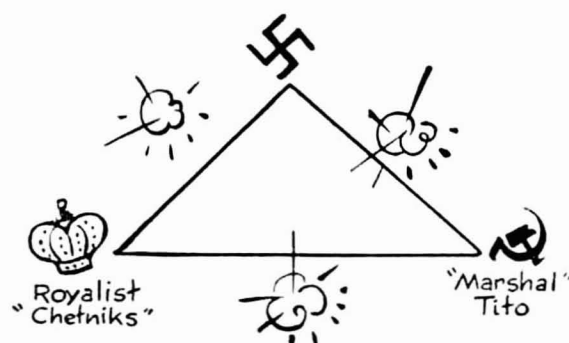
their double game. England and America have not yet officially recognized Tito, and it looks as if they may still try to heal the breach between him and the King with the help of the resurrected General Simovich, who delivered a radio address from London in favor of Tito on February 19. On the other hand, Stalin has not yet broken with King Peter. As late as December 19, Nikolai Novikov, the new Soviet Minister, presented his credentials to King Peter in Cairo.

The Balkan situation was considerably affected by the treason of Badoglio. At first Germany was faced with a difficult task. The Badoglio divisions in the Balkans, numbering some one hundred thousand men, had to be disarmed; and all important harbors, airfields, and lines



of communication had to be secured. But, as in Italy, Germany acted with lightning speed. In collaboration with Croat units, the Germans occupied all important ports on the Dalmatian coast and then turned against the guerrilla bands in the interior. Tito's headquarters in Jajce were stormed early in January. The numerical strength of the forces employed on the German side is not known. However, the Allied claim that twenty German divisions are tied down by the guerrillas has been ridiculed by Berlin. The atrocities committed by the Tito bands in the course of the fighting have brought even Serbs who are not particularly friendly toward the Germans into German ranks from a sheer desire for self-preservation.

Strange as it may sound, Badoglio's capitulation has in the long run had a



beneficial effect on the German position in the Balkans. Italian penetration, which had been viewed with misgivings by many Balkan nationalists, has come to an end. No longer hampered by consideration for the House of Savoy, Germany has now been able to clarify many pending issues. In September, Prime Minister Nedich of Serbia received increased powers for his government and the command over the growing Serbian Army from the Führer.

VETERAN EX-KING

Under the dictatorship of Prime Minister Metaxas, the relations between the Greek Government and the Axis seemed to develop so favorably that, on April 13, 1939, in an attempt to keep Greece

in their own camp, Great Britain and France gave her a promise of aid against any attack. However, after the outbreak of her war with Italy on October 28, 1940, when Greece was most in need of assistance from the Western powers, she obtained no aid against Italy beyond empty promises. Yet, to the surprise of the world, the Greeks were able not only to hold their own but even to push the Italians back into Albania whence they had come. When the British finally arrived, it was not to fight the Italians but to turn Greece into an Allied bridge-head against Germany. They occupied Crete and, on March 21, 1941, landed British troops in Salonika.

On April 6, 1941, the following statement was issued in Berlin :

... The German Government has ordered its armed forces to drive out the British troops from Greek soil. Any resistance will be ruthlessly broken. The Greek Government has been informed of this. At the same time, the German Government emphasized that the German troops are marching into Greece not as the enemies of the Greek people and that the German nation has no desire to fight against and destroy the Greek people. The blow to which Germany has been forced on Greek soil is directed against England.

In a rapid movement, the German troops thrust through the Greek peninsula. The Greek armies capitulated, and the British armies were put to flight. King George II fled to Crete. On April 29, a new government under General Tsolakoglu was formed in Athens, and on May 4, 1941, Adolf Hitler stated in a Reichstag speech that Germany had neither political nor territorial demands to make on Greece. One month later, Crete was also in German hands, and King George had gone to Cairo. For the second time in his life, George was without a throne. In December 1923 he had been forced to flee by internal disorders in his country, and it was not until 1935 that he had regained his throne.

George II experienced difficulties similar to those of his young colleague Peter II. George, too, is in conflict with the guerrilla bands in his country. In the autumn of 1943 the guerrillas sent a delegation to Cairo with a demand to the King that

they should be given three posts in his cabinet, including that of Minister of the Interior. They also informed him that he would not be allowed to return to Greece until a plebiscite had decided on the future form of the Greek government. The guerrillas were given a rather frosty reception in Cairo, and their demands were turned down.

As is the case in former Yugoslavia, there are two opposing sets of guerrillas in Greece: the "Elas," which has strong Communist leanings, and the "Edes," which is more democratically inclined, and which are doing more fighting against each other than against the Germans.

The British attitude toward the Greek Government in Cairo and the Greek guerrillas has undergone a change similar to that in Yugoslavia. Until late last autumn London supported the King, Churchill declaring in the House of Commons on November 9, 1943, that the



British Government considered the King its loyal ally and the constitutional head of the Greek people. But five weeks later, on December 15, 1943, Sir Anthony Eden made a statement in the House of Commons which indicated that the attitude of the British Government toward the Greek Government had cooled off considerably. He declared that no agreement had been concluded between the King and the British Government, thus renouncing any obligation on the part of Britain toward George II. This in turn has seriously affected the position of the Greek cabinet under Prime Minister Tsuderis, who has his authority from the King.

It may be assumed that Stalin's pressure at the Teheran Conference had something to do with this change of mind in the British Government. It is clear that Moscow's sympathies are with the guerrillas, in spite of the fact that the George's government still has a Minister in Moscow.

ODDS AND ENDS

Apart from the various "liberation committees," ex-kings, and fugitive governments discussed so far, there are a number of other organs which belong to the same group.

To what lengths the game of establishing committees has been carried can be seen from the fact that even a "Hungarian Refugee Committee" was formed in July 1943 in the USA. It is headed by Count Michael Karolyi, the "Kerensky" of Hungary, who bears a great deal of the responsibility for the Communist outrages committed in Hungary in 1919. He has not been in his own country since he fled it in March of that year.

Here we might also mention the revelations—more comical than political—of Home Secretary Herbert Morrison, who informed the House of Commons on May 20, 1943, that, besides the recognized Polish Government, one more Polish government existed in England. This, he explained, was headed by a man who claimed the title of "King of Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia, Grand Duke of Lithuania, Silesia, and the Ukraine, and Hetman of Moldavia." A pretty tall order.

Furthermore, there is the "National Committee of Free Germany," established under Stalin's patronage in Moscow in the summer of 1943. According to the *Pravda* of July 21, 1943, it consists of German Communists living in the USSR and, allegedly, of a few German prisoners of war.

It is difficult to say whether the government of ex-King Victor Emmanuel and General Badoglio should be included in this list. It has some of the characteristics of a fugitive government, and it is being treated by the Allies as if it were a government without a country. Incidentally, on March 13 the Soviets took up diplomatic relations with the Badoglio Government, the first Allied government to do so. Again, as in Algiers, they have grasped the initiative.

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HAVING examined the most important of the governments, committees of liberation, etc., existing abroad, we have seen that they do actually represent an essential aspect of the present war. If we now compare the origin of these various organs, we are struck at first sight by considerable differences. Some of them owe their existence to Bolshevik tricks (Kuusinen, Tito, Wanda Wasilewska), others to the flight of members of the old governments before the German Army (Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Greece); others again were formed abroad to compete with the legal governments in their respective countries (Czechoslovakia, France), or by reason of a personal whim on the part of the former ruler (Rumania); still others, because Moscow wishes, for reasons of "face," to continue to treat as governments those Communist cliques which were driven out of their countries and clearly repudiated by the people (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania).

And yet at bottom they all have one thing in common.

In an article entitled "War and Revolution" (January 1943) we developed the theme that the present war is not a war in the usual sense but one of the symptoms of a gigantic revolution, of a conflict between opposed ideas which puts all former revolutions in the shade. It is in the sphere of ideas that the real conflict lies, and the war that is at present convulsing Europe is the projection of this conflict of ideas onto the political and military plane.

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

What are the great, revolutionary ideas for which Europe is fighting today under German leadership?

First: the idea of Europe—the faith that, between the leveling internationalism of the Bolsheviks and the petty nationalism of Europe's past represented by the fugitive governments, a new Europe

will arise which, without losing the manifold individuality of its peoples, will form a political and economic unity. This idea is represented by a nation which, in forming the German Reich, has proved the possibility of a combination of outward unity and inner manifoldness. It is opposed by the ex-kings and fugitive governments which hope to be reinstated by the Anglo-Americans in order to resume their old policies. Even those of them which reveal a new idea here and there as, for instance, in the case of Belgium, show trends leading away from Europe, for what else is the suggestion of closer ties with the British Empire but flight from Europe? This idea of Europe is also attacked, though from another direction, by types like Kuusinen and Tito who have inscribed un-European Bolshevism on their banners and whose victory would mean Europe's incorporation in the Soviet empire.

Secondly: socialism—the creation of social justice. The aim of this socialism is to make it impossible for either individuals (capitalism) or the state (Bolshevism) to exploit the people. On the one hand, it recognizes the positive value of private property; on the other, it demands that the owner put his property at the service of the community. This idea, too, is being defended on two fronts: in the west, against the fugitive representatives of the old social order; in the east, against the exponents of Bolshevism, which only permits goods of daily use as private property and makes all people the employees of a single employer, the state, thus condemning them to a condition devoid of rights.

It is this reactionary fight against the revolution of the new Europe which the various governments abroad have in common, with the Allies as well as among themselves. They are all championing outdated systems. In a recent issue of the American magazine *Foreign Affairs*, Geoffrey Crow-



ther most aptly summed up the crux of the weakness of the Allied cause when he wrote: "This is the naked truth: Hitler has an answer for the problems of the twentieth century, while we to this day have not found it."

As for Bolshevism: in a Europe which only knew capitalism, as was the case in 1917, this ideology may have appeared to many as a positive revolutionary force. In a Europe, however, which has seen the tremendous rise of National-Socialism in the years from 1933 to 1939, Bolshevism has become just as much a thing of the past as capitalism.

This clinging to the past, this inability to learn from past errors, this endeavor to turn back the wheel of history—all these are characteristics common to the governments we have discussed, characteristics which place them in the category of émigrés and condemn them, like all émigrés, to sterility. Even if, as a result of the present withdrawal and concentration of German forces, one or the other émigré government should return to its old capital, this would mean—to judge by examples from history—just as unsuccessful and temporary a return as that of the Bourbons or the King of Naples more than a century ago.

However, it must not be thought that every statesman who flees from his country automatically becomes an émigré condemned to sterility. The decisive factor is whether, in the light of history, he represents Yesterday or Tomorrow. The Prussian statesman Baron vom Stein, for instance, had also to flee before Napoleon; but, in contrast to the Bourbons, he was not a reactionary émigré but a reformer in exile, with the result that his work has remained alive among the German people to this day.

DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN INTERVENTION

The governments discussed in this article have a second important characteristic of the émigrés: they have to rely on foreign intervention. On their own, they can do little more than talk. The forces which they have raised are so tiny

in comparison to the armies facing each other in the struggle for Europe that they carry no weight whatever. The Poles in the Red Army are of no more than propagandistic value, and even this has been rather negative since it has become known that more than six hundred men deserted to the German side the first day the Polish division was put in the field in November 1943. Mutinies broke out in February among the Polish troops stationed in the Near East before they were sent to Italy. The De Gaullist troops in Corsica and Italy, the guerrillas in Serbia, the émigré units in England, the sabotage agents on the European continent—what are they in comparison to the armies of the Russians, Americans, and British on whom their hopes are resting, let alone in comparison to the millions of their own co-nationals in Europe who are working at home or in German factories or fighting as volunteers at the front for Europe's victory?

Perhaps the most concrete weight that the émigré governments may be able to throw into the scales of political decision is the number and wealth of their countrymen in the USA. Although the 5½ million Americans of Polish, Czech, and Yugoslavic descent do not have much say there, they have the right to vote, so that, especially in a presidential election year like 1944, a certain amount of consideration has to be paid them. The vast majority of the Eastern European immigrants living in America have frequently expressed their disapproval of the handing over of their old countries to Stalin. The Polish Catholic Association, for instance, claimed in May 1943 that 400,000 of the Polish children deported by the Soviets had already perished; and in June the National Committee of Americans of Polish Descent accused the Soviet Union of the inhuman treatment of two million Poles, including children and aged women, who are being treated as hostages to enforce Stalin's territorial claims.

POKER CHIPS

However, too much importance should not be attached to these immigrants.

Hence the émigré governments are in the last resort nothing but chips in the poker game of the great powers. Like chips, they have no intrinsic value: they are only the tokens used by the players. With the help of a few governments now living abroad, England and America successfully prevented a peaceful solution of the problems of Europe and thrust bystander nations into the war, only to drop them as soon as their political game with the Soviet Union made this appear more expedient. The Poles, King Peter, Darlan, or Giraud—as soon as they have served their purpose they are sacrificed to high politics.

Even in cases where it is not yet a question of complying with Soviet demands, the émigré governments have been given clearly to understand that they have no say. The major part of the Norwegian merchant fleet, for instance, has been in the service of the Allies since the outbreak of the war and has suffered heavy losses. But, as if this were not enough, England demanded in the summer of 1942, at a time of particularly severe losses through the U-boat war, that the Norwegian merchant marine be placed completely under the British Admiralty. The protests of the émigré Premier, Nygaardsvold, were rejected, and his hint that he would have to resign was answered with the statement that his stay in Britain as a private individual was not desirable. He was replaced by Carl J. Hambro, ex-President of the Norwegian Diet. But even Hambro, in spite of his strong pro-Allied attitude, was not spared disappointments. A year ago he published a book, *How Peace May Be Won*, in which he subjected the treatment of the small nations by the Anglo-Americans to sharp criticism. Many people, he wrote, were discussing the future of the small nations "as though they are corpses to be dissected." He complained that the Nor-



wegian Government was not exercising the least influence in the Anglo-Norwegian Committee for the Allocation of Shipping in spite of the tremendous sacrifices made by the Norwegian merchant marine for the Allied cause.

The émigré governments which have placed themselves in Stalin's hands are



having similar experiences. By his submission to Stalin, Benes has been able so far to avoid the conflicts which other émigré gov-

ernments have had with the Soviets. The Czech legion in the USSR nominally still recognizes Benes' government; but if at any time Stalin should be displeased with Benes it would not be difficult for him to find a Czech willing to play the role of a Tito or a Wanda Wasilewska. The first clear reminder to Benes that his motto should be "obey or else" came in the middle of February, when the Moscow *Pravda* attacked the Benes cabinet for not having organized effective resistance against the Germans in the territory of former Czechoslovakia.

LIFE WITHOUT ROOTS

The governments we have discussed have a third émigré characteristic in common: the lack of contact with their nations. Of course, they try to persuade themselves that such a contact exists, for instance by pretending that they have some sort of an influence on the "underground organizations" in Europe. In reality, however, they are becoming more and more estranged from their own people since by their flight they have renounced participation in their people's fate. Any little official or politician who has remained in his country and has shared the ups and downs of the last few years with his people knows more about them and is closer to them than the lofty personages who appeal from afar over the radio to "their people." "The man who pretends to be speaking today in London for Belgium is not only an ex-premier but also an ex-Belgian!" a Belgian newspaper

wrote on December 19, 1943. And King Christian of Denmark expressed the same thought just as concisely when, in view of the activities of certain Danish émigrés in England and America, he wrote: "No Denmark exists outside of Denmark!"

Nowadays, international law is not in very high regard, and sometimes one feels inclined to doubt whether it still exists at all. Hence it is idle to ask whether, from the point of view of international law, there can be such a thing as an émigré government. In recent years, diplomatic recognition has been used more and more by the democracies as a petty instrument of politics. By recognizing fictions (such as the émigré governments) or by not recognizing facts (such as the changes of government in Bolivia and Argentina) they seek to make up for that which they lack in political power. In the long run, however, facts will always prove stronger than fiction. The last few years have shown that a government residing far away from its people and country is no government at all because it has lost touch with home.

SIXTH COLUMN

For the benefit of the Allied powers, the émigré governments have had to play a propagandistic role. On the one hand, it sounds very nice when they are enumerated in the list of the "United Nations," thus making this list seem imposingly long. On the other, the Allied press and radio have shown during the last year that great hopes have been placed by the Allies in the discontent of the areas occupied by German troops.

Any military occupation, even when it is carried out by so disciplined an army as the German one, is a burden. This burden has been increased by the mounting violence of the war, the growing demands made by it upon both nerves and labor requirements, and the indiscriminate bombing of countries which possess governments abroad. Moreover, the measures taken against the expected invasion have entailed many a hardship for all coastal areas. The Allies are at-

tempting with the aid of the émigré governments to exploit whatever discontent there may be by blaming the Germans for all existing difficulties.

In their campaign of calumny against the Axis during the thirties, the Anglo-Saxons seized upon the phrase of the "fifth column" and used every flimsy pretext or pure invention to allege that they had found traces of its activity. With far greater justification, the émigré governments may be called a "sixth column" which, in Allied service, is seeking to sabotage the reconstruction and defense of Europe.

But it is not enough to inveigh against Germany. For their propaganda to be successful, the Allies would have to be able to offer the European peoples a plausible and more agreeable alternative. This, however, is impossible. The longer the war lasts, the clearer does it become, in spite of all propaganda to the contrary, that the alternative to the Europe defended by Germany can only be a Bolshevik Europe. The number of those is dwindling who believe that a third possibility exists, namely, the return to the old order under the protection of the Anglo-Americans. Only too clearly, for every eye to see, this possibility is being torn to shreds. While the Polish émigré government is dragging out a miserable existence, the only two actual factors which will decide over the fate of Poland are the German Army and the Red Army. Or take Yugoslavia: Mihailovich set out to fight the Germans as an ally of the Anglo-Americans. Today, however, he has no alternative but to defend himself with his remaining few thousand men against Tito's bands and to collaborate with Premier Nedich, the ally of the Germans. Here again, there are only two forces worth speaking of: those allied with Germany and those serving Stalin.

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The growing realization that there is no third road and that Europe can choose only between Germany and Bolshevism is clarifying the fronts. On

the one hand, it is thrusting men like De Gaulle and Benes into Stalin's camp; on the other, it is leading hundreds of thousands of men from all the states of

Europe into the armies allied with Germany. And it is cutting what little ground they still had from under the feet of the émigré governments.



Flying Weather Prophets

When you do not receive any more weather reports from certain areas, you must go out and get them yourself, say the meteorologists of the German Air Force. So they have specially trained men in special planes who fly out every day deep into enemy territory, carrying meteorological instruments through the air and recording their findings. Flying sometimes ten or twelve hours without stopping, they cover distances which would represent records in peace time.

To be able to chart the weather correctly, the meteorological stations must have regular reports. This means that the weather planes must fly for days on end at almost the same hour over the same spots. Thus they hang, an attractive morsel to the enemy owing to their regular appearance, in the air somewhere off the British Isles or the North African coast, making notes of the cloud formations and acting rather peculiarly in the eyes of a lay observer. Having flown some distance in a straight line, they suddenly and without any visible reason start to circle upward in a narrow spiral. This means that they are rising thousands of meters to record the temperature.

It quite often happens that the hand of the meteorologist which has just been drawing lines on a weather chart must suddenly shift to the butt of a machine gun, when an enemy pursuit plane wants to "disturb his circles." While spitting bullets, the weather plane has for the time being to seek safety in flight, to return later to the same spot in order to complete its recordings, or perhaps to start all over again. Thus what the airman-meteorologist needs more than anything else is patience and tenacity.